Ojibwe

Towards a prosodic analysis of the morphological template

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About Ojibwe

- Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe language, among other regional/historical names) is spoken by the Anishinaabe.
- Region: In Canada, it is spoken throughout much of Ontario and into Manitoba and Quebec (outlying communities in westwardly provinces), and in the US from Michigan to North Dakota (outlying communities in Montana).
- We are focusing on Southwestern Ojibwe, as represented in the Ojibwe People’s Dictionary, spoken in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Canadian Border Lakes communities.

(Ojibwe People’s Dictionary 2022; Nichols 1995; Valentine 2001)
This project: Outlook and template

- We are still early in the work for Ojibwe, but we can discuss what we’ve done and where we plan to go (and get your feedback/thoughts!)

  *Rough and incomplete template:* PREVERB-INITIAL-FINAL

- **Question:** What is the prosodic structure of the morphological template? Do initials and finals stand in different relationships?
- **Diagnostic:** Compare and contrast these two junctures:
  - PREVERB-INITIAL-FINAL
  - PREVERB-INITIAL-FINAL

  (Nichols 1980; Piggott 1980; Rhodes 1976; Valentine 2001)
This project: Outlook and template

- Diagnostic: Compare and contrast these two junctures:
  - PREVERB-INITIAL-FINAL
  - PREVERB-INITIAL-FINAL

- Strategy:
  - Characterize phonological profile of right and left edges
  - Determine phonological/prosodic processes that occur in each environment
  - Compare processes between environments and languages (within Algonquian and beyond)

- Doing our own work with the Ojibwe People’s Dictionary, and are searching through previous literature, but would love suggestions of previous work.
Methods
minwate 0s ind; minwateg 0s conj; menwateg 0s ch-conj; Stem: /minwate/-

it is a nice house, is a nice room; it (a dwelling) is in good order

Audio for Basic Forms

- minwate 0s ind
- minwateg 0s conj
- menwateg 0s ch-conj

Word Parts

- /minwate/-: /minw-/- good; /-ate/ it is or is in an interior space, a room, a house
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initial UR</th>
<th>Initial Gloss</th>
<th>Final UR</th>
<th>Final Gloss</th>
<th>Morphemic analysis (surface)</th>
<th>Original Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>madwe-</td>
<td>heard, audible</td>
<td>-aasin</td>
<td>it is blown by the madwe-bag-aasin</td>
<td></td>
<td>madwebagaasin</td>
<td>the leaves can be heard blowing in the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>madwe-</td>
<td>heard, audible</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>act on h/ by mou madwe-_m</td>
<td></td>
<td>madwem</td>
<td>chew it (animate) audibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>madwe-</td>
<td>heard, audible</td>
<td>-and</td>
<td>act on it by mou madwe-_nd-an</td>
<td></td>
<td>madwendan</td>
<td>chew it audibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>mane-</td>
<td>scarce, lack, need</td>
<td>-izi</td>
<td>s/he, it (animate) mane-zi-n</td>
<td></td>
<td>manezin</td>
<td>s/he is in need of, is short of (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>mang-</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>-izi</td>
<td>s/he, it (animate) mang-ade-zi</td>
<td></td>
<td>mangadezi</td>
<td>s/he is wide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>minw-</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>-aabi</td>
<td>s/he looks, has s minw-aabi</td>
<td></td>
<td>minwaabi</td>
<td>s/he has good eyesight, sees well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>minw-</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>-ate</td>
<td>it is or is in an i minw-ate</td>
<td></td>
<td>minwate</td>
<td>it is a nice house, is a nice room; it (a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>minw-</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>-bii</td>
<td>s/he or it (animate) min-o-bii</td>
<td></td>
<td>minobii</td>
<td>s/he drinks and is merry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>minw-</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>-enim</td>
<td>act by thought or minw-enim</td>
<td></td>
<td>minwenim</td>
<td>like h/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>minw-</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>-gaabawi</td>
<td>h/ stands min-o-gaabawi</td>
<td></td>
<td>minogaabawi</td>
<td>s/he stands well; s/he is in good stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>minw-</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>-law</td>
<td>hear h/ min-o-taw</td>
<td></td>
<td>minotaw</td>
<td>like hearing h/, like how s/he sounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>misaw-</td>
<td>desire</td>
<td>-enim</td>
<td>act by thought or misaw-enim</td>
<td></td>
<td>misawenim</td>
<td>want, desire h/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>misaw-</td>
<td>desire</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>see it misaw-i-n-an</td>
<td></td>
<td>misawinan</td>
<td>wish to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>misaw-</td>
<td>desire</td>
<td>-naw</td>
<td>see h/ misaw-i-naw</td>
<td></td>
<td>misawinaw</td>
<td>wish to have h/; be envious of h/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>miskw-</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>-aa</td>
<td>it is in a state or misk-o-bag-aa</td>
<td></td>
<td>miskobagaa</td>
<td>there are red leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Initial UR</td>
<td>Initial Gloss</td>
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<td>Final Gloss</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>agaas-</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>-ate</td>
<td>it is or is in an int agaas-ate</td>
<td>agaasate</td>
<td>it is a small house or room</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>biin-</td>
<td>clean</td>
<td>-ate</td>
<td>it is or is in an int biin-ate</td>
<td>biinate</td>
<td>it is a clean house or room</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>dak-</td>
<td>cool, chilly, cold</td>
<td>-ate</td>
<td>it is or is in an int dak-ate</td>
<td>dakate</td>
<td>it (a room or house) is cold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>giizhoo-</td>
<td>warm</td>
<td>-ate</td>
<td>it is or is in an int giizhoo-_te</td>
<td>giizhoote</td>
<td>it is warm inside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>minw-</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>-ate</td>
<td>it is or is in an int minw-ate</td>
<td>minwate</td>
<td>it is a nice house, is a nice room; it (a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>waase-</td>
<td>clear, light</td>
<td>-ate</td>
<td>it is or is in an int waase-_te</td>
<td>waasete</td>
<td>it is or gets bright inside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>dwaa-</td>
<td>going through the</td>
<td>-bide</td>
<td>it moves without dwaa-bid-e</td>
<td>dwaabide</td>
<td>it drives through ice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>akw-</td>
<td>a certain length, sx</td>
<td>-bii</td>
<td>s/he or it (animal ak-o-bii)</td>
<td>akobii</td>
<td>s/he is so far into the water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>akw-</td>
<td>a certain length, sx</td>
<td>-bii</td>
<td>liquid, water, slu ak-o-bii</td>
<td>akobii</td>
<td>it has water or liquid in it so high</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>deb-</td>
<td>enough, adequate</td>
<td>-bii</td>
<td>it is or does relat deb-i-bii</td>
<td>debibii</td>
<td>it fits (of liquid); it adequately holds (sc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>gaw-</td>
<td>prostrate, down ar</td>
<td>-bii</td>
<td>s/he or it (animal gaw-i-bii)</td>
<td>gawibii</td>
<td>s/he falls down drunk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>minw-</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>-bii</td>
<td>s/he or it (animal min-o-bii)</td>
<td>minobii</td>
<td>s/he drinks and is merry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>naad-</td>
<td>fetch, go get, appr</td>
<td>-bii</td>
<td>s/he or it (animal naad-oob-ii)</td>
<td>naadoobii</td>
<td>s/he goes to get water or other liquid;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>naad-</td>
<td>fetch, go get, appr</td>
<td>-bii</td>
<td>s/he or it (animal naaz-i-bii)</td>
<td>naazibii</td>
<td>s/he goes down to the water, goes aft</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>dwaa- [NW]</td>
<td>going through the</td>
<td>-bii [NW]</td>
<td>liquid, water, slu dwaa-’-i-bii</td>
<td>dwaa’ibii</td>
<td>s/he makes a water hole in the ice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preliminary results
What segments can initials (roots) end with?

We used the underlying analysis in OPD to first test: Are there any roots that clearly end in a short vowel?

- **One** listed under short o: niiwo- ‘four’
- **Two** listed under short i: izi- (no translation given), wiidabi- ‘sit with’
- **None** listed under short a
- **NB:** some listed as /…Cw/ with a variant [...Co]
What segments can initials (roots) end with?

Ruling out the exceptions

- *niiwo-* ‘four’
  - Likely a variant of the *niiw-* or *niiy-* which also means ‘four’
- *izi-* (no translation given)
  - Likely a variant of iN, which means ‘thus, in a certain direction/manner’
- *wiidabi-* ‘sit with’
  - In fact, this is an internally complex initial + final: *wiid-* ‘with’ + *abi-* ‘sit’

Conclusion: roots/initials only end in C or VV
An initial comparison with preverbs

Conclusion: roots/initials only end in C or VV

This is different than what we see with preverbs in Ojibwe:

- If anything, it is *characteristic* of preverbs to end in a short vowel (especially -i, which is a “preverb forming final”)
  - *Agaasi-* ‘small’ (underlying analysis: aagas + i)
  - *Aako-* ‘agressively’ (underlying analysis: aakw + i)
  - *Wenda-* ‘really, completely’

- Gives a first point of leverage to see the difference between these positions in the template
Finals starting with short vowels (a first pass)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th>C-V</th>
<th>VV-V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/-izi/</td>
<td>*deb-*azi</td>
<td><em>gizhoo-zi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-ate/</td>
<td>*biin-*ate</td>
<td>*waase-*te</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Short vowels occur after consonants.
- Short vowels delete after long vowels.

[There are more contexts here to explore (e.g. initials ending in “w”)]
### Finals with long vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th>C-VV</th>
<th>VV-VV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/-aa/</td>
<td>agaas-aa</td>
<td>Gizhoo-y-aa “INAN is warm”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-enim/</td>
<td>git-enim</td>
<td>inigaa-y-enim “dislike ANIM”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-oom/</td>
<td>bim-oom</td>
<td>agwaa-y-oom ‘carry ANIM to shore on back’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Long vowels occur after consonants.
- Long vowels are separated by a glide from long vowels.
Future work and discussion
What about consonants+consonants?

- Epenthesis of [i]? (Kaye & Piggott 1973; Truitner & Dunnigan 1975)
  
  /-shin/  *gizhoo-shin*  ‘ANIM lies in warmth’
  /-shin/  *deb-ishin*  ‘ANIM lies fitting in’

- But this is the same pattern as finals that begin in a vowel
  
  /-izi/  *gizhoo-zi*  ‘ANIM are warm’
  /-izi/  *deb-izi*  ‘ANIM is satisfied’

- Palatalization? (Kaye & Piggott 1973; Truitner & Dunnigan 1975)

  *apiit* ‘so much’ + *shin* ‘ANIM lies’  = *apiich-ishin*  ‘ANIM lies to such a height’
  *apiit* ‘so much’ + *izi* ‘ANIM is in a state’  = *apit-izi*  ‘ANIM is of such an age’
What about preverbs?

While it is clear there are differences in the phonological environment entailed by initials vs. preverbs, are there differences in the prosodic processes?

An example:

Ogii-bichi-apagajwebishkawaan iniw owiijiwaaganan imaa jaangaanig.

“He accidentally bumped his teammate into the corner.”

When we listen to this recording, the final [i] in bichi- is deleted, despite spelling.

BUT we know that vowel hiatus can also be tolerated, resolved with glide or glottal stop insertion, or resolved with deletion.

(Bloomfield 1957; Lochbihler 2017; Newell & Piggott 2014; Piggott & Travis 2013; Valentine 2001)
What we’ve learned so far

We confirm previous observations at the initial-final juncture:

- Short vowels delete after a long vowel
- Glides are inserted between two long vowels
- Generally, vowel hiatus is not tolerated (see also Valentine 2001; Piggott & Newell 2014)

We discover new observations:

- Initials cannot end in a short vowel (only in C or VV)

And our very preliminary results for preverbs (also see, e.g., Nichols 1980):

- These process also occur at the preverb-initial juncture, but the parameters of variation are not yet clear.
Thanks!

Especially to Nora Livesay for answering lots of questions about the Ojibwe People’s Dictionary.
References

- Ojibwe People’s Dictionary. 2022. [https://ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/](https://ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/)
References